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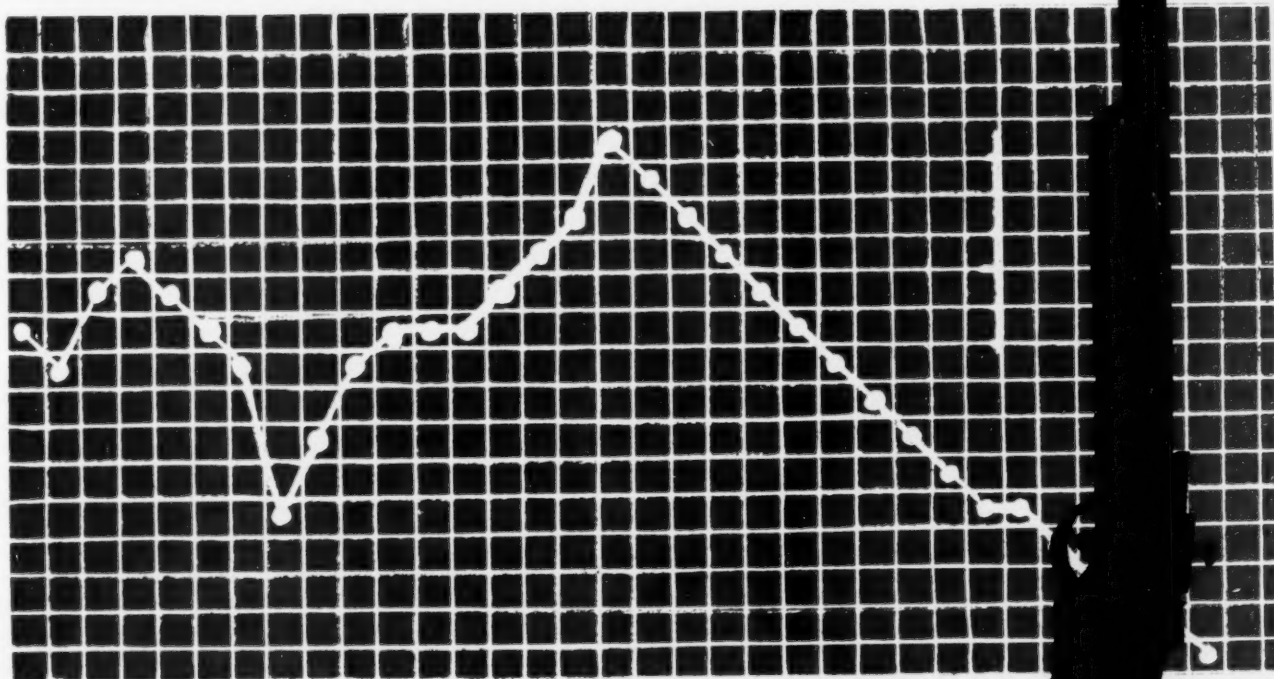
LIBERATION

APRIL 1958

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DON MURRAY OF THE NEW GENERATION
THE H-BOMB AND THE HUMAN FUTURE



NO BOMB NO WAR

MAY 21 1958

In this Issue-

"MANFRED MACARTHUR" is the pseudonym of a trained economist who is on the research staff of one of the major unions in a basic industry confronted with the problem of automation.

WILFRED WELLOCK is a former Member of Parliament. His article in this issue is reprinted from his book *Which Way America?—Which Way Britain?*, published in England by the Society for Democratic Integration in Industry, and available in the United States at 30c a copy from the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N. Y.

During the Korean War, DON MURRAY jeopardized a promising career in the theater by publicly taking his stand as a conscientious objector. After two and a half years of relief work in Germany and Italy under the auspices of the Church of the Brethren, he returned, and, he recalls, "felt fuller than ever as an actor. My technique was rusty, but I knew I had gained in depth

and maturity from my experience." Since that time, he has starred in three films: *Bus Stop*, *The Bachelor Party*, and *A Hatful of Rain*.

LAWRENCE SCOTT has been selected from a list of volunteers to be one of five people who are planning to enter Great Britain and the Soviet Union to protest nuclear testing in those countries. They plan to arrive in England on April 15. This project will complement the voyage of the *Golden Rule* to the Pacific testing area.

NEXT MONTH *LIBERATION* will publish the second article in its "American Prophets" series: a study of HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD by Staughton Lynd.

MEMO FROM THE ARCHIVES: We are completely out of the August, 1956 and January, 1957 issues. Copies of these issues are needed to help meet requests from college libraries for complete files. *LIBERATION* will pay 30c plus postage for each copy received.

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CONTENTS

Vol. III, No. 2

The Dilemma of Capitalism:		
<i>No Bombs, No Bread</i>	3	"Manfred Macarthur"
<i>Eyes (poem)</i>	6	Pierre Henri Delattre
<i>Whole Men and Whole Living</i>	7	Wilfred Wellock
<i>That Space There (poem)</i>	9	Gil Orlovitz
<i>Footnote on the Beat Generation</i>	10	Don Murray
<i>Why I Must Talk to the Russian People</i>	12	Lawrence Scott
<i>Not So Long Ago (Part IX)</i>	16	A. J. Muste
<i>Retrospections of a Man Left of Center</i>	15	Curtis Zahn
The Poets Who Have Died Since		
<i>I Was Young (poem)</i>	19	Helene Mullins

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THE DILEMMA OF CAPITALISM:



NO BOMBS, NO BREAD

"Manfred Macarthur"

THERE IS NO WAY in which we can escape from serious economic recession except by large government spending on armaments. This is not an abstract theory or an old-fashioned cliché. It is a conclusion which can be backed up by a careful analysis of the economic facts and the alternative proposals. As our economic system is presently constituted, no other conclusion is possible.

There is no doubt but that we are in the midst of a serious recession. The Gross National Product declined during the last quarter of 1957 for the first time in four years. The index of industrial production is seven and a half per cent lower than a year ago. Machinery production declined more than ten per cent during 1957; motor vehicles and airplanes some thirteen per cent; primary metals some twenty-four per cent. Steel furnaces were operating at less than sixty per cent of capacity in January, 1958, as compared with one hundred per cent of capacity the year before.

Unemployment increased from 3.4 millions in December, 1957, to 4.5 millions in January, 1958, and in addition there are millions more in need of full-time work who are working part time. Unemployment is also more widespread geographically than a year ago. In January, 1958, approximately one out of three major labor market areas was rated by the Labor Department as having at least 6 per cent of its labor force unemployed. The number of these major labor market areas with substantial labor surpluses increased from 19 in January, 1957, to 45 in January, 1958.

Where employment is holding up or rising (as in the service industries) it means often that workers are shift-

ing over to less desirable jobs. A large portion of the recently hired workers in drug stores and super-markets are former industrial workers now earning substantially less at these new jobs than they did in the factories. On top of all this, because of a drop in the average hours worked per week and the steadily rising price level, the purchasing power of the average weekly factory wage at the end of 1957 was approximately five per cent lower than in December, 1956.

Why did our economic machine get so out of gear? There are several conventional answers. The government cut down its spending temporarily as it shifted the emphasis from airplanes to missiles. Consumers have become more cautious and more hesitant to go further into debt. Businessmen have been cutting down inventories. All these explanations are probably correct: the trouble is that they just describe things; they don't really explain anything.

In order to understand what has really happened, we have to look at the drastic changes brought about by the automation of many production methods during the past few years. Transfer machinery, electronic computers and feed-back devices were revolutionizing much production, improving the quality of the products and reducing manpower requirements substantially.

For several years, it seemed as if employment would continue to expand despite this automation. Between 1953 and 1956 the total number of wage and salary workers increased by some three millions. Admittedly, most of this expansion occurred in the non-manufacturing industries, in trade, in the service industries and in government employment. But factory employ-

ment also, though lower than in 1953, kept up pretty well and even went slightly up, all through 1955 and 1956.

The Effect of Automation

There were two main explanations given. On the one hand, it was said that the labor savings would be passed on to the consumer in the form of lower prices and that this would stimulate demands. Consumers would buy more, producers would increase output, and total employment remain stable or rise. This explanation unfortunately does not square with the facts. The wholesale prices of industrial products have been continuously rising since the beginning of 1955, and this has been especially true for just those industries most affected by automation. On the other hand, it was said that the labor savings due to automation would be offset by the increased demand for labor in the industries which produced the automatic equipment—an explanation which failed to explain why, if there were no cost savings, there would be any incentive to introduce the automated equipment.

The facts, however, seemed to support this second explanation. Production of machinery and of electrical instruments *did* expand enormously. Business expenditures for plant and equipment, already at an all-time high in 1955, increased further between 1955 and 1956 by close to twenty-five per cent. In many industries, machinery which was still in perfect working condition was torn out and replaced by the more modern equipment. This change often required a total reorganization of production. Hundreds of new plants had to be built, often requiring new highways, new power lines, new railway sites. It almost looked for a while as if automation had managed to create its own market, making business independent of the final consumer.

Now it turns out that this was an illusion. Automated production, in order to be economical, generally requires greater production volume. This means that each producer who increases his productive capacity must hope to gain an additional share of the market at the expense of his competitors. The result is general overexpansion, and part of the newly acquired capacity is forced to lie idle. The magazine *Business Week* confirmed this in November, 1957, when it said: "Two years ago industry was running at ninety-two per cent of capacity; manufacturers used even old, high cost plants. By the end of last year, the average operating rate was eighty-six per cent; now it has dropped to eighty-two per cent; today some new, lower cost capacity is idle."

Business in the coming period will spend substantially less on plant and equipment than it did during the last few years. A good deal of equipment that would normally have been replaced in the present period has

already been replaced, due to the pressures of competitive automation. This conclusion is backed up by a survey made by the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, which found that the iron and steel industry planned to reduce its investment spending by approximately twenty-five per cent; the aircraft and ship building industries by twenty-eight per cent; the motor vehicle industry by thirty per cent and the non-ferrous metals industries by thirty-eight per cent.

These planned cutbacks have already resulted in sharp drops in orders in the machinery industry and in many metal-fabricating industries, leading to reduction of inventories. Since steel and other basic raw materials in this way become more plentiful, businessmen in industries not directly affected by the reduction in investment spending cut down their inventories. There was no point in tying up working capital if raw materials were available whenever needed. Employees, seeing the job lay-offs, decided to postpone planned purchases of durable consumer goods and, instead, to set aside a few dollars for a rainy day.

In this way the recession in the machinery industry spreads to the primary-metals industries and to the durable consumer-goods industries. The chances are that it will spread further. Unemployment breeds more unemployment.

Unemployment Is Healthy

What can be done to reverse this process? There are many sharply conflicting views. At one extreme are the economists who hold a modernized version of the pre-Keynesian classical theories, which were so thoroughly discredited during the great depression. According to this thinking, we have been suffering from "overfull employment". Labor is supposed to have abused this situation by selfishly driving up wages. The excessive wages have brought about a profit squeeze, and this is why business is reducing its investment. The excessive wage costs have also allegedly forced prices up to a point where the public has been reluctant to buy. The recession, according to this way of thinking, is primarily a process of healthy readjustment. It will give business a chance to reduce wages and restore profit margins. The only danger is government intervention, which would interfere with the natural recuperative process.

It is easy to see how much damage such an economic policy can cause. We have only to recall that workers not only are producers, but also constitute the largest group of consumers. Wages and salaries account for approximately two-thirds of the national income. If an attempt is made to raise profit margins, prices will have to be cut less than wages. This will reduce the real purchasing power of wages and lead to further decline of consumer demand, which in turn will increase

the gap between capacity and actual production. As a result, fixed investment outlays will appear even less attractive than before.

Nevertheless, the exponents of the "overfull employment" point of view are quite effective in shaping government policy and business attitudes. We can see this in the tight-money policy of the Federal Reserve Board, in the attitudes of many Treasury officials and members of Congress, who feel that government intervention is the greatest crime against the economy, in the timidity of the administration, and in the many statements of the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other big-business organizations that blame our present difficulties on the "profit squeeze".

Profits Are Not Expendable

Many liberals, especially those close to the labor movement, advocate an opposite policy. They recognize the gap between productive capacity and actual demand as the main cause of recession, but they conclude that what is primarily needed is a substantial increase in the general wage level. A change in income distribution would be beneficial for the economy as a whole, they maintain, since profits which cannot be reinvested lie idle, whereas wages, on the contrary, would flow back immediately into the spending stream. As consumer demand, fed by higher wages, continued to expand, it would eventually induce the additional investment.

The main weakness of this view is that it cannot tell us how this substantial increase in the general wage level is to come about. Management, in order to stabilize the economy, is supposed to grant substantial wage increases voluntarily. But management never has paid any attention to such advice, and it is a fair bet that it never will. While some mythical over-all management might gain through such a policy, any specific employer in the immediate future would be bound to lose. Obviously, no employer can hope to recoup through a large volume of output what he loses through higher labor costs, and no sane employer can be expected to sacrifice a part of his profit so that his competitors, or the employers in other industries, can get a chance to raise their output.

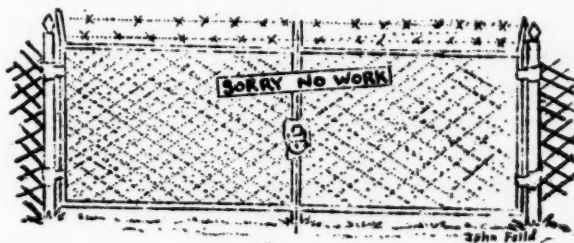
It is unlikely that labor during a business downswing can obtain substantially higher wages against management's resistance. During a recession, the sellers are always weaker than the buyers, and this applies to the labor market. In the non-organized sector of the labor market, the increased competition for jobs is bound to have a depressing influence on wages. In industries in which the great majority of the workers are organized, the union will be much better able to resist the downward pressure. But in any case, it is entirely unrealistic to expect that wage increases can be ob-

tained which would result in the kind of rise in consumer spending which could offset the drop in investment spending.

Since the recession did come about through a decline in investment spending, and since there is no economic policy by which this decline can be reversed right away, the only alternative left is an increase in government spending. These conclusions seem pretty obvious and most economists at least pay lip service to them.

The rules for this increase in government spending are simple: It must be financed out of budget deficits rather than higher taxes (otherwise, it would further reduce consumer purchasing power or discourage business spending), and it must not compete with private business. Four main types of additional government spending are advocated: *public-works projects*, such as highway construction, additional schools and hospitals, etc.; *additional aid for groups which are economically weakest*, e. g., increase of unemployment compensation payments, higher old age and disability benefits; *expanded aid to underdeveloped countries*; and *increased armament expenditures*.

Powerful groups in our society oppose these proposals, voicing fears that they will start a new wave of inflation. This opposition reflects the class interest of employer



groups that want to exploit the recession to "tighten labor discipline", i.e., reduce unit labor costs by cutting wage rates and raising production standards. Despite this opposition, the Eisenhower Administration, which is so closely connected with big business, is starting some public-works projects and will start more as the elections come closer.

Will an economic policy along these lines actually reverse the deflationary trend? The pre-war experience suggests that public-works projects plus larger unemployment compensation by themselves will not do the trick. In 1939, after five years of the New Deal, there were still nine-and-a-half million unemployed. *Higher benefit payments* to the unemployed and to oldsters help, of course, but they can make up for only a part of the wage loss; they mitigate only the secondary effects of the depression.

Public-works projects can compensate for the decline in the demand for new plants and for new office buildings, but they can have only a marginal effect on

the machinery, the electrical-instrument, and motor-vehicle industries. To bring economic recovery, government spending must affect much more than just the construction industry.

Substantially increased *foreign aid* might conceivably solve our economic problems. The underdeveloped countries could use practically unlimited quantities of trucks, tractors, farm equipment and industrial machinery. Our metal-fabricating and electrical-equipment industries could work full blast providing investment goods for underdeveloped countries. There are too many powerful groups, however, opposed to such a policy: the bankers, who fear foreign aid competing with private foreign loans; big-business interests, which fear they will not be able to purchase raw materials from underdeveloped countries so cheaply once these countries are industrialized, and those interested in the underdeveloped countries primarily for air bases and manpower resources, who fear that the underdeveloped countries will become more independent when they are industrialized. It is a fair guess that grants and long-term loans to underdeveloped countries will not increase significantly. The production of capital equipment for foreign aid will have as little impact on our economy in the future as it has had in the past.

No Bread Without Bombs

It is already obvious today that the big increase in government spending will come through a sharp increase in *defense expenditures*. We are, at the moment, being subjected to an enormous propaganda barrage to make us accept this. Our very lives are said to depend on catching up and overtaking the Russians in the production of missiles, anti-missiles, anti-anti-missiles, etc. Congress and the administration, Republicans and Democrats, are outdoing each other in raising defense appropriations. Reactionaries and liberals, Chambers of Commerce and the trade-union movement, are united in their enthusiasm for larger and larger government expenditures. Management and labor are longing for the good old days of World War II and the Korean War when profits and overtime earnings were plentiful.

The upswing after the 1948-49 recession came about because new investment was needed to produce the military equipment for the Korean War. It is entirely possible that we will experience a similar development in the next two years. In principle, the market for armament production can be expanded indefinitely. Military equipment continually becomes obsolete and in need of replacement. Even before the latest plane or missile leaves the factory, it is already out of date. By its very nature, the demand for military equipment can never be exhausted.

If defense expenditures are sufficiently stepped up, employers will start to build up their inventories. The

downward pressure on wages will relax, and employees, feeling more secure in their jobs, will start to spend more freely. Eventually, under the combined pressure of greater consumer demand and increased military spending, employers will find their machinery overtaxed, and will resume expansion.

This is how the economy recovered from the 1948-49 recession, and this is how, in all likelihood, it will recover in 1958-59. This recovery, in another few years, will end in another recession, which in turn will be overcome by still larger armament expenditures. This may go on for quite a while, but eventually the people are bound to question the sanity of a social and economic order which periodically endangers the job security of millions of its citizens, and which can function at all only by wasting an ever larger part of its resources in the forms of bombs, missiles and other means of destruction.

"THE BETTER TO REPRESENT YOU WITH ..."

The eight leaders of American labor who went to the White House Thursday to plead the case of the unemployed arrived in a limousine with liveried chauffeur.

New York Times, March 17

EYES

People
Are seeking
people,
Oh, their loneliness
At the contact!

Too much
Light
Not enough
Vision.
Soften the
Light
Or deepen our
Eyes.

Pierre Henri Delattre

Liberation

WHOLE MEN and WHOLE LIVING

WILFRID WELLOCK

THE CRUCIAL SEGMENT in the magic cycle of an expanding economy is advertising. It is crucial because it conditions the minds of millions of people to buy certain things merely for the sake of keeping going a trade cycle which is highly profitable to a comparatively small section of the population and provides a high standard of living to most of the rest.

Advertising is no longer the art of making things known, but pressurized salesmanship. Goods have to be sold, and in great quantities, otherwise the national economy would break down. Hence Americans live in an atmosphere of advertising. They get it in their daily newspapers, where it occupies 67 per cent of the total space, taking the country as a whole, as against 33 per cent in Britain, and again in the evening as they sit in their living rooms going through magazines or listening to the radio or watching TV.

The purpose of all true culture is to modify desire, but the purpose of advertising is to stimulate desire beyond all reason, so that the getting of things, the getting and spending of money becomes a mania. The process is intensified by all the big stores and by the allocation of special days to certain sections of the population, such as Mother's Day and Father's Day, when advertising makes a strong appeal to the nation's filial piety. There are also days when present buying for friends is popular, like St. Valentine's Day, while every day is Children's Day. And as most of us know to our cost and sorrow, Christmas shopping now extends to six or eight weeks, both in America and in Britain.

□

On my recent visit to the United States, the big campaign in advertising was by the automobile firms for the "second car," or "the wife's car," or "two cars to a garage." In one area I travelled over 2,000 miles in a German Volkswagen. As this car was then a newcomer to America, every time we stopped people came to inspect it and to inquire about its merits and its price. Then one would hear some such remark as "Well, that looks like solving the problem of the wife's car."

Another distressing effect of pressure advertising is the hold it has on teenagers, who, in general, are earning good money. Most college students take vacation jobs, and large numbers take part-time jobs in cafés during the sessions, while those not attending college earn ample money. Teenage spending is rather alarming in many cases, the teenager like everybody else claiming the right to live as he pleases, that is, to live NOW by spending all he has.

One can understand this attitude to some extent owing to the havoc which military conscription and war have wrought in the lives of millions of young people during the last twenty or thirty years in most of our Western countries. In these conditions the future becomes a huge gamble, so that teenagers tend to rule it out and to live in the present. Thus marriage, like everything else, is taken on trust, which means that its demands are met for the most part by installment buying.

□

On one occasion, after a talk I had given to the senior students of a high school, I was besieged by a lively group who argued vivaciously that it was not only sensible but ideal to get married on this basis. If they both had a job, the argument ran, and worked hard to pay off their debt, they would get along quite well, and pulling together for this purpose would bind them together and strengthen their love.

Against this I argued that to work hard for many years to pay off a debt which was forever hanging about their necks was a far from pleasant prospect, that it was always better to work for some inspiring objective. I also pointed out that very soon, and all along their married course, new wants would emerge, each of which would be regarded as urgent, but each of which they must buy "on time" for lack of ready money.

It is in such ways that the disease of materialism takes root. Perennial debt rarely escapes that disease. Once desire and demand for goods and services exceed the bounds of spiritual health and well-being, the getting of money becomes the dominating factor in one's life. And today, not only in America but in every Western country, the aim of every social section is for more and more income. Even the wealthiest have not enough; they cannot make ends meet!

From end to end of this devouring economy the emphasis is on things, getting and spending, and especially on things to save time, which few know how to use when they get it. Yet in spite of all this feverish getting and spending, nothing yields so much joy and satisfaction as the making and doing of worthwhile things, creative self-expression of some kind. But for such concepts, notwithstanding thousands of time-saving gadgets, there is no time. Least of all is there time for meditation, which has become a lost art and a forgotten value.

We are thus in the era of the economic man, whose heavy material demands are making a top-heavy civilization which may over-balance, cause a revolution and come crashing down when least expected.

At no point do religion, philosophy, or culture break into this materialistic cycle. Thus the Church and the cultural institutions implicitly accept an essentially materialistic economic system as the foundation of a way of life which carries flattering titles. The Church and others appeal for the play of Christian charity in this and that direction, and for better management-worker relationships, but as regards the nature and purpose of human labor they are mainly silent. The painful truth is that money worship, money getting and spending, pleasure seeking and luxury-loving habits and pursuits determine not only the course of industry, but of politics and culture, and thus of civilization as a whole.

□

The failure of modern civilization is the failure of religion and culture. Economic factors have been so strongly stressed that, by degrees, the economic man has been allowed to usurp the rights and authority of the whole man, who lives by culture, self-expression and vital human relationships as well as by bread. The primary aim of the economic man is to enjoy the pleasures of abundance; that of the whole man is to reap abundant life. Money can buy the former but not the latter, although in our world money is a functional necessity. By failing to take thought we have allowed the means to become the end.

The secret of abundant life has been sought under many names from time immemorial. Mere existence was not enough, conventional and mechanical ways of life did not satisfy the soul's aspirations. In every age the pleasures of life as ordinarily understood have been exhausted and found wanting. The spiritual decadence of abundance, which is due to failure to control desire, has been the cause of the downfall of every civilization that has perished. The Greeks sought to avoid calamity by the doctrine of the "mean"—be reasonable, they pleaded, don't go too far. The idea didn't work, so the Hedonists were superseded by the Cynics, just as a few centuries later the Gladitorial age of the Roman decadence was followed by the Stoics.

The Christian injunction expresses a fundamental truth, the spiritual law that a man becomes what he does, that only by self-expression or self-outpouring can the soul grow, can human life and the world reveal their full glory. The supreme task of every person is to achieve wholeness and fullness of life, and the only way to do it is to express the deepest that is in him, call it vocation, truth, love, God, inspiration, vision or what you will. Living Truth stirs the emotions and the imagination, sets the soul on fire, and gives no peace until it has taken form in some worthy service.

That process fulfills a threefold function: self-discovery, self-expression and self-fulfilment, which constitute whole living and abundant life. All good work

is self-revelation and the best service to the community of which we are capable. If we are not rendering such service, something is wrong with our outlook, our upbringing, our culture. What we are in our inmost selves and the efforts we make to express what of truth, beauty and goodness there is in us, are what really matter. Every good civilization will do all in its power to make the culture of human wholeness its chief concern. But how many Western countries are doing that today?

Mass production industry is increasing wealth, but at the cost of mechanized and fragmented men. Machines become increasingly complex while men are reduced to robots, for which indignity they are compensated by high wages and, in Britain, by the Welfare State. And because education is mainly and increasingly concerned with training experts and robots in order to cheapen and increase production, capture markets and swell the export trade, knowledge of the meaning of life and of the art of living ceases to be relevant.

The two great needs of Western civilization are purposive, creative living, and education for such living. Our immediate task should be to inaugurate an era in which every person will be trained to appreciate relative values, and to express those values in daily living. The tragedy of modern industry is that it uses so little of the finer qualities of people, of whatever genius there be in them. If that condition is to be changed, culture must be revolutionized and opportunities provided for creative self-expression universally.

□

The time has come to think in terms of a social revolution of a quite new kind, one which springs from viewing civilization—life, the world, society and industry, in a new way. I like to think of the world, in the main, as a vast array of small communities, all trying to raise the quality of their life, the beauty of their neighborhoods and to become integral parts of a marvellously varied whole.

This new world will have small beginnings, but it can begin to take shape now, here and everywhere. It can start, as I have suggested, in the home with the culture of home crafts, by changing demand from more money to more leisure in which to make and do things from sheer delight—things to which we feel we can impart some quality of our own which would have value for us and possibly for others.

As that idea spreads, the time would come when industry would be divided into categories: automatic, semi-automatic, and handcraft, assisted, where suitable, by small power-tools. The spread of craftsmanship would raise the standards of taste in the public at large, which would cause more commodities to be carried over from automatic to handcraft production. In regard to basic production, automation is only possible when very

large quantities, usually millions, are made of the same pattern, whereas the human spirit aims at distinction, which results in an infinite variety of personal expressions. It is for that world of infinite variety and beauty that we must now work, and in achieving it we shall raise the quality of life, increase the joy of living, and develop genius and the finer qualities of the human spirit.

This is the high road to a creative democracy and the culture of whole persons, who are the foundation of the only civilization that can survive in the age of nuclear power. Creative or qualitative living is the only means by which we can escape from the aggressive, war-stimulating tendencies of a devouring economy. Furthermore, in such a society, automatic factory work could be shared either by operating a three or four working day, or an alternate day or week arrangement.

This suggestion would facilitate city decentralization and the cultivation of socially virile neighborhoods. Our age has almost lost the sense of community and beautiful neighborhoods, which was once a treasured possession in Britain and Western Europe. Architectural beauty was a highly esteemed heritage with which we have nothing to compare today. The reason is obvious. Money has robbed us of our sense of beauty and of the pure joy it stimulated. It is only in the eras when work is culture that beauty and joy are of the essence of daily living.

The wide, open spaces which still abound in America offer infinite opportunities for development along the lines I have suggested. What is equally important is that there are large numbers of Americans who are sick and tired of a way of life that is dominated by getting and spending. They now see that this is an enslavement of mind and spirit. I have been in meetings where women advocated a sales resistance movement, and condemned the concept that it is almost a sin to do anything with one's hands which a gadget could do, believing that there is real joy in the use of a skill which has a worthy end, and that creative labor develops ability and produces a sense of independence. Civilization has reached a low ebb when a man is deemed to be crazy if he elects to walk a couple of blocks, or a fool if he is without a car.

Moreover, there are thousands of people in America who have cut themselves adrift from the mania of getting and spending, in order to live independently at a lower tempo, while increasing thousands of married couples past middle age are semi-retiring to the country in the hope of supplementing their resources with modest earnings.

Then there are the numerous break-away groups of persons who have founded various cooperative and intentional communities, such as the Bruderhof (Society of Brothers), Koinonia, Macedonia, etc.; organizations for the promotion of small communities like Community Service, Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio, The School of Living,

Brookville, Ohio, and Melbourne, Florida; numerous minor cultural centers whose aim is to promote creative living, and thousands of people all over the country who are supporting these institutions and pioneering on their own.

These straws in the wind are among the first signs that the dreamers are awakening and beginning to make treks towards a more satisfying way of life. I would add one more indication. I was greatly struck by that new phenomenon in America, the larger family. I discussed it with many people and finally came to the conclusion that it is probably a healthy reaction from a way of life which brought neither contentment nor satisfaction. The rearing of a family has become a new field of creative expression. America's present birth rate is 50 per cent higher than that of Britain and is equal to that of India.

Finally, the transition from the pursuit of material abundance to that of abundant life would greatly reduce the demand for goods and remove most of the tensions which arise from the competition for world markets and supplies. In other words, the pursuit of human wholeness is one with the pursuit of peace.

THAT SPACE THERE

that space there, that
sure takes a man right out
of himself, out
of his rice paddy, clear out
of the insurance premiums;

sure, that five alarm rocket's
going, to put a man out where
there's credit unlimited, where
the garbage is sucked out before
you can make it, where
a guy's ahead of himself all the way;

but I keep getting the message
that somebody wants my brain out
in that space there, and my pockets
right down here, like someone wanting me to watch
the shellgame of the stars and planets
while he sticks his dirty fingers in my pants and picks
me clean,

relieves me of my living while I die to be a god,
tears up my union card, hops up the production line
for the love of the outer man,
the scout man,
the souped-up tailblazer,
the satellite as the servant of his mother skin,
that earth knoweth no fury like her orbit scorned,

therefore do I go round her
for my purges
somebody urges,
while your brains out in that space there on an abstract
axis
suffer your body to pay the higher taxes

Gil Orlovitz

FOOTNOTE ON THE BEAT GENERATION

DON MURRAY

IN HIS NOVEL *On the Road*, Jack Kerouac has suggested, to the shocked surprise of many of his elders, that today's "Beat Generation" of young people is basically a believing generation, looking for something it can have faith in. To most members of the preceding generation, the suggestion seems preposterous, or even blasphemous. "How can you call a generation of jive addicts and juvenile delinquents a believing generation?" they ask.

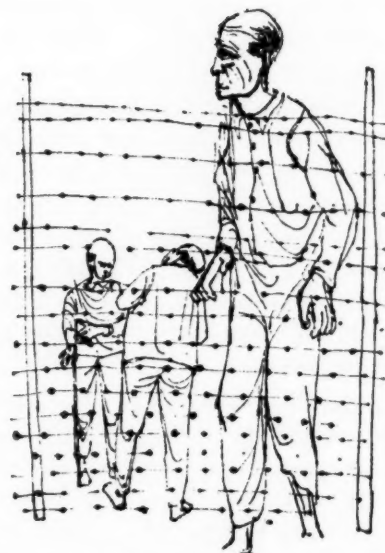
Actually, the Beat Generation is beat because it has no one to look up to. Men in the highest positions of authority generally avoid taking a principled stand on anything. When they do, they quickly abandon it if it happens to be wafted into disfavor by the fickle winds of "popular thought".

It is not only politicians who are at fault; almost the entire "adult" generation is able to switch from "Thou Shalt Not Kill" to "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" and back again, as though honesty in such matters were a troublesome yoke. Perhaps the most consistent offender in this whole slippery labyrinth of expediency is the Press, doubly dangerous because it has such an awesome influence on the entire world.

In school, from the time we make our first attempts to arrange and express our thoughts, we are taught to treat the printed word as a gospel. Every argument of fact ends with the phrase "Look it up." The point at issue is irrefutably settled by the authority of the printed word. On examination papers, our individual merit is determined by our ability to retain the printed word. High grades do not testify to a capacity for independent thinking; they go to those students with the greatest facility for remembering the proper combinations of a few thousand letters and symbols on the printed page.

My intention is not to campaign for "progressive education" or to attack "booklearning". The point I am trying to make is that if education is to prepare us for a useful and constructive life, it must inculcate in us a reverence for facts that will extend beyond the conventional texts. As it is, we are taught in school to trust implicitly in the printed word; later, we discover first to our surprise, and then to our horror, that the people who use the medium just don't give a hoot whether what they print is true or not.

At first, I thought that this total disregard for truth was peculiar to the entertainment world. When I arrived in Hollywood, I read a newspaper item to the effect that "before becoming an actor, Don Murray spent four years in a monastery as a Trappist monk". At the time, I was highly amused. It is well-known that Trap-



pists take a vow of silence, and I can imagine an actor developing from four years of no talking! Later on, similar untruths and distortions of truth began to disturb me. It is difficult enough to make a stand for what you really believe in without having your true convictions buried in a mass of pure nonsense. Interviewers have at times been shocked, simply because I told the truth; many a studio public relations man has had a nervous stomach because I insisted on being honest. In Hollywood, the truth is met with a very suspicious eye; often, stories are automatically rejected just because they happen to be true.

Let me give an example. My wife, actress Hope Lange, and I have known each other for almost seven years. We became engaged in New York after a play we were both in failed on Broadway. Shortly afterwards, I took a screen test for the part of the cowboy in *Bus Stop*. At the same time, Hope did her first dramatic show on television. Studio officials selected me for the part on the basis of the screen test and signed Hope to a contract after seeing her on the television show—first film: *Bus Stop*. The officials had no idea we knew each other; even after the picture was in production, most of them were very surprised to learn that we were engaged. But the true story did not faze the publicity people a bit. They went right ahead with the Boy Meets Girl on Set story, which has been told a thousand times, each time more dully than before. The true, and more interesting, story would not have come out at all if we had not insisted on telling it in our interviews.

I am assured by my politically wise friends, however, that the entertainment world has no monopoly on false reporting, and that in political life the truth is an

even poorer vagabond gone begging. I am really appalled by this; if facts and the truth are habitually obscured in print, how are we ever going to emerge from the morass of prejudices we have acquired in our lives, inherited from our parents or picked up unconsciously from our associates?

This disregard for truth is not confined to the worlds of politics and entertainment; it reaches into the life of anyone who happens to come into the purview of a reporter looking for a story. I have an Indian friend, a man of great intelligence and dignity. One night, a drunk knocked at his door and proceeded to make a terrible nuisance of himself. After trying unsuccessfully to persuade the drunk to leave, my friend calmly telephoned the police and asked them to take the drunk out of his house. The police came and, with them, reporters. The drunk caused no further trouble and was led quietly away. My friend did not leave his front door during the whole incident. Next morning, the newspapers printed a fantastic story about how the big chief was after the scalp of a paleface who had invaded his tepee. They had him chasing all over the neighborhood with weapons, bent on killing the intruder.

In such a world, where is the Beat Generation going to go to get "un-beat"? Where is the good example to which it can look? Our outlook is being distorted by the avarice, bull-headedness and cowardice of the self-righteous generation who interpret the world to us. You pick up a famous magazine and read an account of the clever way in which one professional baseball team manages to cheat another and still stay within the letter of the law. Well-known men take stories that should be told in private and with shame, in an effort to seek forgiveness and a better life and sell them to mass-circulation magazines to be spread all over America and the rest of the world.

Right now, four of us from the Beat Generation are engaged in an experimental project: we are trying to demonstrate that refugees, uprooted by the Second World War and the ensuing spread of Communism, and unable under the existing laws to immigrate into free western countries, do not have to be left to die in barbed-wire camps but can be settled in free communities in the countries where they are confined. We have bought a tract of land on the under-developed, under-populated island of Sardinia and are working with former inmates of these camps, helping them cultivate the land, build houses and operate small industries.

Tremendous problems confront us, the major one on this side of the ocean being that of raising sufficient funds. We have been fortunate in that all our administrative costs and the support of our three American volunteers are underwritten by church service committees, so that we have only the actual material expenses on the project itself to contend with. Also, the Italian gov-

ernment as part of its agricultural development program, has agreed to reimburse us for half of our expenses for houses, barns, irrigation canals, etc. But our lack of experience in fund-raising and the fact that we are reluctant to put the project in the hands of a professional fund-raiser, who would be entitled to a large percentage of the donations, makes our task especially difficult.

The three young Americans working in Sardinia on the project itself are having an even tougher time. After from ten to sixteen years of enforced idleness and lack of responsibility, most of the refugees do not find it easy to adapt themselves to a project that requires a long period of work and responsibility before any individual material benefits can be obtained. The project demands faith, and the faith of these people has been all but completely destroyed by years of prison-like existence behind barbed wires. Despite this obstacle, and despite the fact that the tremendous work and sacrifice of our three Americans have been met with suspicion and resentment, rather than gratitude, the progress that has been made is amazing. After only three months of full operation, we are already starting houses and have marketed our first crop, which is already justifying our belief in the superiority of advanced American farming methods, in that it is the richest crop of artichokes in the area. We have had gratifying offers of help, often unsolicited, both in this country and in Europe. Whenever our efforts have been met with cynicism or self-interest, it has not been on the part of the Beat Generation, but rather on the part of the "Self-Righteous Generation".

There must be a reason for all the duplicity of the Self-Righteous Generation, all its lying and fear of taking principled stands. No doubt increased awareness of the horror of war has made support of militarism more and more difficult, with the result that people have been driven to more and more rationalizations and deceit. This in turn has contributed to a rise in juvenile delinquency and a growing lack of regard for the inviolability of the human personality. Yet this must not blind us to the other side of the picture: never before in our history have there been so many striking examples of faith and goodness in action as we now see in the volunteer service programs involving young people of this country.

The Beat Generation is a believing generation looking for something to believe in. Since its members lack a strong example of courage, truth and consistency, they will have to find their own way. Some of them will fall into wasted and destructive lives; others will discover ways to lead lives of faith and service such as the world has rarely seen. Meanwhile, the Self-Righteous Generation will be standing aloof, stiff-backed, glancing out of frightened eyes, and stifling its own impulses to love and truthfulness.

Why I Must Talk to the Russian People

LAWRENCE SCOTT

"Today I feel that stopping preparations for nuclear war is the principal business of my life."

THE REGION in which I spent my childhood is called Little Dixie. My mother was a devout Southern Baptist. My father, who had always resisted conversion, became an evangelical Christian six months after her death. We lived on a farm in the hill section of central Missouri. My imagination was fed on the ideals of military chivalry set forth in Walter Scott's novels. We were taught to respect colored people, but within a cultural pattern in which each race had its appointed place.

I was converted to Christianity in a schoolhouse revival, at the age of twelve, and baptized. Half a dozen years later I lost my childhood faith and assurance under the impact of university education and the then current scientific writings. I spent a year at the College of Emporia, Kansas. There was an interval of a year and a half when my life was complicated by the Great Depression and I eked out an existence by means of odd jobs and work on a pile driver. Then I spent a year at the University of Missouri. But with the loss of religious faith had gone motivation for academic study, so I left college and went to work again on the Missouri River. I worked as steamboat deck hand, timekeeper, foreman, inspector, and finally, as chief inspector of construction on a contract fleet. All this was as a civilian employee of the Engineer Corps of the Army, from which I resigned in 1939.

I had begun earlier the attempt to work out a philosophy of life, reading Spinoza, Dostoevski and others as a part of that search. Basically I was attempting to reconcile the facts set forth by various sciences, and the scientific outlook itself, with the needs and the deep convictions about the nature and purpose of life which dwelt within me. From those depths there welled up in 1938 (when it was clear that the world was moving toward war, and that I would have to clarify my attitude toward that development) the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth had the answer to the problem of war and peace. Specifically, this involved commitment to two truths that ran counter to my heritage and my cultural surroundings—first, that all men are equal, regardless of color; second, that love and nonviolence constitute the only creative relationship in which men can live.

Later I was led to serious study of Gandhi, and I ar-

rived at another basic conviction: that the way of life to which Jesus called men was best exemplified in our day by the faith, the life, and the nonviolent program of Gandhi.

Burning Bridges

Both my religious intuition and my acceptance of a nonviolent philosophy of life led me to a belief in what Alan Watts calls the "wisdom of insecurity". When the ideas I have been mentioning had begun to take shape and I had felt the call to prepare for preaching, friends had tried to persuade me to hold on to my job in the Engineer Corps while taking college classes. But burning my bridges behind me seemed better.

Back to college I went, completing work for a B. A. at William Jewell College and an M. T. (Master of Theology) at Central Baptist Seminary, Kansas City, Kansas.

The church's betrayal, as I deem it to be, of the spirit and teaching of Jesus towards war became one of my deepest and most continuous concerns. In the summer of 1940, when World War II had already erupted in Europe, I felt a strong urge to go to the Southern Baptist Convention then being held in Baltimore. I wanted to witness to the relevance of the Sermon on the Mount to the issues of the day, and especially to the question of participation in war. I went as a messenger of the little central Missouri Baptist church to which my mother had belonged. The Convention was held in an atmosphere of militant patriotism. Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma set it on fire with patriotic oratory at the very meeting at which I had planned to call my fellow Christians to consider the Sermon on the Mount and the Master who told his disciples to put up their swords. I had been told that I would be recognized from the floor. I stood up to get the attention of the chairman, but he failed to call on me.

Deeply disturbed, I left the Convention and walked the streets. After several hours, I suddenly became completely relaxed. The burning urge to speak to the Convention had departed. I was puzzled by this. Still in prayer, I went back to the Convention only to find that a previous resolution had been amended to endorse the right of individual Christians to take the conscientious objector stand. This was quite a step for Southern

Baptists. About a year later, a leader in that Convention told me that it had been during the period when I was in agonized prayer that the amendment had been adopted.

Patriotism and Pacifism

Between sessions of the conference I visited the site from which, "in the dawn's early light", Francis Scott Key had seen the Star-Spangled Banner still flying. While I was in meditation at that spot, the conflict within me between patriotism and pacifism was once and for all resolved. I saw that they were in harmony. It was a moving experience. Since that moment I have never been troubled in the slightest by the common accusation that war refusal is unpatriotic.

The main course of my life was now set. I became part of the organized pacifist movement, joining the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1942. My concern about race relations found expression in helping found Fellowship House in Kansas City, Missouri in 1946. For four years I served as its director.

In 1948, it seemed to me for a time that the Progressive Party, with Henry Wallace as its Presidential candidate, gave promise of developing into a mass movement. I was chairman of the Progressive Party of Jackson County, Missouri and was a delegate to the national convention in Philadelphia. Shortly afterwards I resigned from the county chairmanship, in an open letter, because what I had witnessed at the Convention had convinced me that the Progressive Party was being used by the Communist Party for its own purposes and therefore could not be a genuine peace movement, opposing militarism wherever practiced. This experience with one form of political action helped to convince me of the relevance of another kind of action—Gandhian. In line with this development in my thinking, I joined with others the same year in founding Peacemakers, a radical pacifist group openly advocating nonregistration for the draft, tax refusal and the founding of intentional communities. I also became a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

By the Spring of 1957, I had come to another bridge which I felt I must cross. For three years I had been working, with some satisfaction, as peace-education secretary of the Chicago Region of the American Friends Service Committee. I became convinced that more imaginative and drastic action had to be taken against the threat of nuclear war. I resigned from my job, and stated in an open letter which was published in the May, 1957 **LIBERATION**:

In leaving the employment of the AFSC I leave with the conviction that there is no organization doing more for peace education. But that is not enough. We do not have the sense of the early Quakers that 'the power of God is over all'. We do not have the sense of self-abandonment to the Light within, regardless of the consequences.

The wisdom of insecurity has now taught me to cross bridges without burning them. I can work with people on both sides of the bridge. So after resigning I got in touch with the leaders of the pacifist movement and also with prominent persons like Norman Cousins and Norman Thomas. Perhaps I did something to start the discussions which led to the setting up of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, which has succeeded in inspiring considerable grass-roots activity to end nuclear testing. Nonviolent Action Against Nuclear Weapons (As a First Step Toward Disarmament) was also set up, and I was asked to become coordinator of its activities.

NVAANW's first project was in Nevada against the nuclear tests of the United States. A Prayer and Conscience Vigil was held last August at the entrance to the Mercury testing site; eleven of us walked across the well-guarded line of the restricted security area. We were arrested by county officers for trespassing, and found guilty, but sentencing was suspended.

In November, we joined with a number of pacifist organizations in a Prayer and Conscience Vigil at the White House, in protest and petition to the American people and leaders, and in order to seek divine guidance for ourselves and our fellow-countrymen. Three of our group had a conference with the Councillor of the Soviet Union, in which we took to him the same protest against nuclear tests and asked him to convey to his government a request for unilateral cessation. To this request we received an answer similar to that from the United States: you can't trust the other nation.

When the Pacific witness against the Eniwetok nuclear tests of the United States was organized by NVAANW, it was conceived from the outset as one part of a dual action against the tests of both the Western powers and the Soviet Union. Detailed plans for the journey to Moscow had to be deferred temporarily because of the severe problems incident to launching the *Golden Rule*.

There is one aspect of my evaluation of the mission to the Soviet Union which I want to make very clear. In the course of correspondence, some British friends cast doubt on the validity and usefulness of an appeal by Americans to the people and government of the Soviet Union to act unilaterally to end tests. One of them wrote to me: "In our view this would be an impertinence, since the Soviet Union has specifically urged the abandonment of nuclear tests and signified its own readiness to do so as soon as the U. S. A. and the United Kingdom agree."

Here a serious disagreement appears. For the past several years, we have been urging the government of the United States to accept any reasonable offer for cessation of nuclear tests that the Soviet Union might make. But we have gone beyond this appeal and have asked the United States to disarm *unilaterally* for the sake of mankind. We believe that international public opinion

would then force the Soviet Union to follow with disarmament and support of an international order leading to peace. If the Soviet Union did not disarm, we believe that even so the welfare of mankind would be better served by our adopting nonviolent resistance as the method by which we oppose aggression.

While all of us in NVAANW are residents of the United States, we have not spoken from that secondary status. We consider our actions as stemming primarily from our status as members of the human family. For most of us there is the consciousness of an even more fundamental relationship to all mankind as children of God.

Whether one nation has made a fairer offer of negotiation than another, or whether one nation has made offers to stop nuclear tests with less conditions than another, is irrelevant to our witness to the people and leaders of all nations. The pertinent fact is that both the Soviet Union and the United States continue to test nuclear weapons, despite the irreversible harm being done to this and future generations, continue to manufacture weapons of mass destruction, and continue to threaten massive retaliation if they are attacked.

We who were willing to risk much in civil disobedience at the site of nuclear radiation in Nevada, and are supporting four of our members in sailing a small vessel into the Eniwetok area, do not consider it an impertinence to ask the Soviet people and leaders to stop unilaterally the testing of nuclear weapons. We would consider it a moral lapse and a political error to ask only the United States or only Great Britain to stop tests unilaterally.

We believe that the people of the Soviet Union sincerely want peace, just as do the people of the United States. But we do not believe that the people of the Soviet Union have faced up to the price that must be paid for peace any more than the people of the United States have. We believe that the Soviet leaders are aware of the futility of war, as are the leaders of the United States. But it is obvious that the leaders of neither nation have abandoned the cult of violence.

The offer of the Soviet Union to stop nuclear tests if the United States does so is not, as a matter of fact, without conditions. The Soviet Union has a military advantage in conventional weapons; it has a geo-political advantage with respect to Europe, Asia and Africa; it has an ideological advantage in the uncommitted sections of the world, where revolution is ready to erupt at every moment; it has the short-run tactical advantage of being a totalitarian country which can effectually suppress news of tests and research and make rapid change of foreign policy without electoral consultation. So there are conditions which underlie any previous offer made by the Soviet Union.

We would have America take a moral lead in inter-

national affairs; we are appalled at the extent to which the ideals of America are being blacked out by military expediency. But this attitude does not relieve us of the moral obligation to protest the continuing evil of Soviet tests and to call on the people of the Soviet Union, as fellow members of mankind, to act morally.

We in NVAANW have helped considerably in stoking the fires of opposition to American tests. In Japan and England there are particularly strong movements against western tests. The voyage of the *Golden Rule* will become the focus of world-wide resentment against the United States. Partly as a spontaneous revulsion and partly as a planned follow-up to the Cairo Conference, protest groups will be springing up all over Asia and Africa. In hardly any of this international effort will there be any mention of the nuclear tests of the Soviet Union—tests which poison the air for every child in this and future generations and pervert the instruments of mass slaughter just as do the tests of the United States and Great Britain.

The Kremlin Also Guilty

There is no group in the Communist world publicly making the same moral demands of its government that pacifists of the Western world are making of their governments. On the contrary, Communist sympathizers in the western world are able to climb on the bandwagon of resentment which pacifists help to stir up. This fact should not cause us to let up one iota in the crusade against the evil of nuclear tests and against the utterly inhuman threats of massive retaliation directed at men, women and children. But it does impose on us the necessity for moral clarity concerning the same evil in the Soviet Union. It imposes the same urgency to speak with our whole lives against that evil.

When I meet my brother in Russia, I will not be concerned to assess the score in the Cold War maneuvers. I will try to stick to one thesis: that nuclear testing and threats of nuclear war, even for defense, are not only contrary to the welfare of mankind but also provide no defense. I will have one simple request: that Russians urge their government to stop testing nuclear weapons, regardless of what any other nation does.

I will try to speak to the "uncorrupted center of every man", rather than to minds that are confused by fear and rationalizations. I will not allow the Cold War propaganda of my own nation to blind me to the high ideals of the people of the Soviet Union. At the same time, I will try, by my manner of life among them, to convey the high ideals and aspirations of my own country.

After all these considerations are set down, however, I have to make the simple statement that I am going to the Soviet Union because I feel in the depths of my being that God would have me go.

Retrospections of a Man Left of Center

On many a night pump organs
Leaked protestant hymns
While a chairman fingered his nose to suggest singing
The first and last verses
Before we started to stop waiting
For tardy, promised dignitaries
And I, available always
By dialing tollfree numbers
Smelled the tax-deductible franks and beans;
Had memorized some scratched
Patched footage
Of a 1948 Warehouse strike in Ohio
—produced by a professional do-gooder
Provided somebody
Would remember
To bring the projector.

I travelled light those unilluminated years
Burdened only
With a world's problems; moving
Carefully among ants,
Endeavoring to shackle elephants
With legislation
Which got no farther
Than our rented lofts.
I was a letterhead man; a name
Among the few who strode from the crowd.
Starting near the bottom after college,
And NYU,
I worked to the top of the page
And finally
As national chairman
Of the Universal Committee
Moved into the center, heading a petition
To save another Negro boy
From another South.

But;
In a lifetime of selfaddressed envelopes
And collection plates and plate dinners
With 28 peas
The total sound
Of all that money
Was the sound of pennies
Falling into the Grand Canyon
On a stormy afternoon.

Yes, then, men
When they passed the fundboxes the hopeful handfuls
Were on hand, and
Handy with their hands
For the handouts
Of instant coffee, day-old doughnuts,
And handling
Frayed extension cords, signing pledges
And clasping each other in
Undiminished hope; these,
The exhausted troops
Lonesomely bivouaced somewhere between extinction
And the Third Camp. And I as officer
Whispered strategy
From third-floor quarters; a captain
Until the eviction
For five months unpaid rent.

Was it all
Actually
Really worth it? You ask
And I answer with questions; yet
On remembered,
On fewer nights, hot with moon
In some rented park, folk-singers
Exorcised the case
Of mankind's unkindness
To man
With guitars, with banjos and the
Complaining human falsetto.
And, sometimes, yes.
Admittedly sometimes something
Right and precious was caught
And held there; clutched
Within our fumbling hands
As a new coin from the hardening year.
To this the startled eye, returning asks
What is left
After having been right
By moving to the left
For so long a time?

CURTIS ZAHN

NOT SO LONG AGO

Autobiography: Part 9

Nonviolence and the Lawrence Strike

A. J. MUSTE



LET ME GO BACK for a moment to the day the machine guns were mounted on the streets of Lawrence. In the afternoon, about two o'clock, those of the strikers who could crowd into the one hall which would hold fifteen or sixteen hundred people, all standing and packed as closely as possible, met there, as they did every afternoon when the weather did not permit an outdoor meeting. The air was electric, as it is whenever large numbers of men meet in a crisis in the midst of a struggle. Speakers addressed them in several languages. Then it was my turn to try to explain the policy of refraining from violence, refusing to be provoked, which had been decided upon by the strike committee in the morning. They had, of course, to be persuaded that it was a sound policy and to follow it enthusiastically; otherwise their morale would be hopelessly undermined. Men and women who, many of them, had already been clubbed on the picket line, whose savings had long since been used up, whose children no longer had shoes to wear to go to school, had to accept bitter defeat or a split in their ranks which could only lead to early defeat—or else had to embrace nonviolent resistance.

When I began my talk by saying that the machine guns were an insult and a provocation and that we could not take this attack lying down, the cheers shook the frame building. Then I told them, in line with the strike committee's decision, that to permit ourselves to be provoked into violence would mean defeating ourselves; that our real power was in our solidarity and in our capacity to endure suffering rather than give up the fight for the right to organize; that no one could "weave wool with machine guns"; that cheerfulness was better for morale than bitterness and that therefore

we would smile as we passed the machine guns and the police on the way from the hall to the picket lines around the mills. I told the spies, who were sure to be in the audience, to go and tell the police and the mill managements that this was our policy. At this point the cheers broke out again, louder and longer, and the crowds left, laughing and singing:

Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here.

I have had other such experiences which have convinced me that the often expressed idea that Americans cannot understand nonviolence as Indians (for example) do is erroneous. Under certain circumstances, American workers will practice nonviolent resistance, as the Negroes of Montgomery did a year or two ago in their bus protest.

As the John Mach incident illustrates, desperate efforts to break the strike did not cease because it was peacefully conducted. The attempt to provoke mass violence having failed, terrorization of the leaders was again resorted to. More or less friendly newspaper reporters from out of town hinted that my life was in danger and that, since the strike had dragged out so long that it could not end victoriously, no harm would be done if I left town. Not long after these warnings, a group of men, some of whom were reliably identified as members of the Lawrence police force, in the middle of the night entered the hotel where I occasionally stayed and broke the door of the room which I had rented for the week. It happened that I had left town unexpectedly and unannounced that afternoon to go to New York for a conference with officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Surprisingly, no spies or plainclothesmen had seen me leave town, or if any did, they

had decided to keep it quiet. So the thugs missed their prey.

That night they did succeed in routing out a young Italian organizer, Anthony Capraro, who had been loaned to us by Sidney Hillman, the A. C. W. of A. president, along with Harry J. Rubenstein, a Paterson silk worker who had been greatly influenced in his thinking by Daniel De Leon, founder of the Socialist Labor Party. Capraro was an engaging, if somewhat erratic, youth, who was a fabulously eloquent talker in Italian. I remember vividly, in those days of failing relief funds, a meeting of angry Italian grocery and meat-market owners who had advanced more goods to the strike committee and individual families than they could afford and who were demanding cash to wipe out these debts. Capraro was sent to their meeting to talk the situation over. I had no idea what he or the storekeepers had been saying to one another during the early stages of the meeting, except that the latter were in a rage. Presently, Capraro broke into a speech. In a few minutes the audience became quiet; a little later tears began to roll down the cheeks of some of them. Pretty soon they were taking out their pocketbooks and putting bills into a hat as a contribution to the relief fund. Their action, which we publicized, served temporarily to stimulate others to contribute and enabled us to hang on a couple of weeks longer.

Carlo Tresca Returns

Capraro had been involved in another incident which had a direct bearing on his terrible experience the night the thugs broke into our hotel rooms. Carlo Tresca, a lovable fighter for freedom for several decades, had been one of the leaders of the 1912 I. W. W. strike in Lawrence, and probably its most dramatic figure. In addition to the general animosity of Lawrence authorities to the leading figures of that strike, Tresca was the object of special resentment on the part of the officer who in 1919 was chief of police. In the earlier strike, Tresca on one occasion had marched at the head of a procession of strikers who were approaching a point beyond which the police had warned them not to go. On the line marking the forbidden area had stood the future chief of police, with several officers behind him. Tresca, according to reliable accounts, had simply kept marching straight ahead, and, when he came up to the officer, had given him a resounding slap on the cheek with his bare hand. The officer had been so nonplussed, as had been his aides, that they had stood aside and let Tresca and his cohorts pass through.

This was, however, an insult which some time had to be avenged. Tresca had been told to keep away from Lawrence if he was concerned about his health. The ban still held in 1919, and we were repeatedly warned not to bring him to Lawrence to address the strikers,

or there would be "trouble" for him and the rest of us. Tresca was, however, a hero, especially to the Italian strikers. As the bitter days wore on, the effort to keep up their morale became more and more difficult. There were rumors that Tresca did not support the strike, or he would have come to Lawrence to help. We decided that he should come to address a mass meeting but that it would have to be arranged secretly so that he would not be injured. Capraro was in charge of the ticklish job of getting him safely into Lawrence and out again, without any of the numerous remaining spies, getting wind of it.

Tresca was spirited into town. He saw a number of key people and urged them to keep up the struggle. In the evening he was brought by a back door into the hall where we had our mass meetings. As soon as the hall was filled, the doors were locked, lest any spy, having got wind of what was happening, should summon the police. The ovation when he climbed on the platform was tremendous. He spoke, received another ovation, embraced us and left again by the back stairs. Only after we knew he was safely out of town were the doors unlocked so that the happy strikers could go home and the less happy spies report to headquarters.

We had thought that there was going to be trouble, and there was. It was only a few days later that the strong-arm squad broke into my room—to find it empty. Then they routed out Capraro and took him in a car into the country. They gave him a frightful beating and left him senseless in a ditch near Andover, a town adjoining Lawrence. Fortunately, it was a comparatively mild spring night. Tony recovered consciousness as day began to dawn, and crawled out of the ditch and onto the road. As he was crawling along the road, a milk-wagon driver noticed him in time to avoid side-swiping him. The driver carried him to a nearby house, where the people took him in and called a doctor.

Calvin Coolidge

A short time before this, there had occurred an incident which I relate here, since it had a bearing on the eventual settlement of the strike. The strike had been in progress a good while when Henry Endicott, founder of the famous Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company, first interested himself in it. He had been the wartime labor commissioner of Massachusetts (I am not sure this was his exact title) and trouble-shooter for the federal government in strike situations. He still occupied these posts in 1919. He had the reputation of being a progressive capitalist, and regarded the labor relations policy of the New England textile corporations as a relic of the Dark Ages. Through our attorney, George Roemer, a couple of us were in contact with Endicott, who, in turn, was in touch with Calvin Coolidge, then Governor of Massachusetts. The problem was that the strikers

could not advance a proposal to arbitrate without this being interpreted as a sign of weakness. The employers did not want to consider arbitration at all. Endicott assured us—and I have no reason to think he was not honest with us—that Coolidge would issue a statement calling on both sides, as “good Americans”, etc., to agree to arbitrate, so that peace might be restored to the Commonwealth. If the strikers responded by indicating their willingness to arbitrate, Coolidge would bring pressure to bear on the manufacturers.

Coolidge *did* issue what seemed to be a strong, clear appeal for arbitration. Not without some difficulty, we persuaded the strike committee to issue a statement accepting arbitration. But Coolidge never issued another statement, although the manufacturers ignored us and him. Nor did we receive any indication that he had brought any pressure whatsoever to bear on them.

We had been tricked by Calvin Coolidge. Some time after the strike was over, John A. Fitch, for many years an honored member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work, told me that when Governor Coolidge had issued his noble-sounding appeal for industrial peace and arbitration, he had written the Governor expressing his approbation and urging that, since the strike committee had accepted the proposal, Coolidge now do his utmost to bring the manufacturers into line. Coolidge had replied that Fitch was badly mistaken, that the strike was a Bolshevik revolt and not a *bona fide* strike at all, and that you could not deal with such people. Coolidge's arbitration appeal was a piece of duplicity. It is natural to assume that the employers knew this all the time, either because he had confided in them or because they knew their man without having to be told in so many words what he was up to.

A few months later Coolidge became a national figure, destined for the Presidency, as a result of his breaking of the Boston police strike. A little episode in connection with the near-strike of the police at Lawrence, which took place that same summer, deserves mention here. After the close of the Lawrence textile strike in the middle of May, Cedric Long took to writing anonymous memos to the Lawrence policemen, dealing with their wages, hours and working conditions. He showed that these were not much better than those of the textile workers whom they had so frequently clubbed in preceding weeks. Cedric himself had “received some education,” as we used to say, at the end of a policeman's club, and I suppose that these educational letters of his constituted a case of heaping coals of fire on the policemen's heads. Anyway, the policemen got a considerable improvement in their pay and working conditions.

Gloom—and Victory

As the days passed, and the question of arbitration was left hanging, it became increasingly difficult to keep the strike going. The American Woolen Company

opened a couple of its mills in other cities. In Lawrence it offered any workers who would come back an increase in piece or hourly rates to compensate for the cut in hours from fifty-four to forty-eight per week. The temptation to return as individuals, without gaining recognition of the right to appoint shop grievance committees, became very strong. On the week end, at the close of the fifteenth week of the struggle, we held a series of conferences and mass meetings in a final effort to keep the workers out on Monday. It was well known that the first day of the new working week was crucial; if they did not stampede back into the mills Monday, they would remain out the rest of the week. We succeeded. The workers, with only a handful of exceptions, had the magnificent courage to remain on strike.

However, on Monday afternoon, the completely trustworthy members of the strike committee held a long conference and decided that we had no right to call on the workers for further sacrifices. The following week end, therefore, we would make no special effort to bring pressure on them. There being no settlement in sight, we anticipated that on the following Monday the workers—those who were not on the company blacklists—would go to work; all would be over, and the strike lost.

Some weeks before, a convention of textile workers from Lawrence, New York, Paterson, Passaic and a couple of other centers, had set up an independent union, the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. I had been elected national secretary. The Lawrence committee decided that it was my job to go to the other locals and prepare them for the shock which the collapse of the Lawrence strike was sure to cause them. On a lovely Tuesday afternoon in the middle of May, therefore, I was disconsolately making my way to the railroad station to take the train to Boston, and thence to New York. I was walking down the street on which was located the little hall where for four months we had held our daily strike committee meetings. As I approached the hall, I noticed a large automobile standing in front of the building. It was unoccupied. I slackened my step, wondering what that car, standing on the otherwise deserted street, might mean. I had just come abreast of the car when the door of our hall opened and a man whom I recognized as a friendly milk dealer, who had probably saved many babies' lives, because he had sold quantities of milk on credit to the strikers, stepped onto the sidewalk. He recognized me at the same instant and motioned to me to come over.

“Lamont wants to see you,” he said. Lamont, who was not related to the J. Pierpont Morgan partner, was the head of the American Woolen Company Mills in Lawrence. “What does he want to see me for?” I asked. The milk dealer answered that the only possible reason could be to talk about settling the strike.

He had arranged with Lamont to bring me to the latter's home in Andover shortly after five o'clock. It was then about two. We agreed that I should keep out of circulation during the interval, since it would be catastrophic to have it leak out that there might be a settlement and then have the hope dashed.

We met again at five, and he drove me into the spacious yard of Lamont's home. All about were trees in blossom. Lamont drove into the yard directly behind us, having approached from another direction. There on the lawn beside the cars the three of us met. The moment he laid eyes on me, Lamont began to excoriate me as "the outside agitator who has brought all this needless trouble and suffering to Lawrence". When he paused for a moment, I said, "Is this what you brought me here for?" He said, "No; how can we settle this damned strike?" It appeared that at the very moment when we felt we had to give up, the mill management had decided that, with orders coming in again, they could not hold out, either.

I replied that, of course, we two couldn't "settle" it. The conditions were well known: a twelve-per-cent increase in hour and piece rates and recognition in all departments, to shop committees, through which the union would have a voice in settling grievances. Lamont said that the American Woolen Company agreed. I asked him if he could speak for the other mill corporations also. He answered that he did. Then I told him that it would be necessary for the management of each mill to meet a committee of strikers from its mill on Wednesday morning and formally assure the committee that our terms were accepted. He agreed. We parted without shaking hands on it.

When I showed up later that evening in the relief station, where the strike committeemen usually got together informally, they thought they were seeing a ghost. By that time I was supposed to be well on the way to New York. When I told them of the encounter with the milk dealer and Lamont, they were sure, at first, that the strain of the long weeks of strike and the anticipation of failure had been too much for me and that I was out of my head. I stuck to my story and seemed on the whole sober and in my right mind. When someone who had slipped out to telephone the milk dealer came back and confirmed my story, it was finally accepted.

Even so, the joy was restrained. These workers, who had gone through so much this year and in 1912 and earlier, were not sure that the managements were not up to some trick. They were not going to let their joy really break out until the committees had met the managements and confirmed the settlement. Early Wednesday morning, word was passed around that workers were to meet by mills. The report of the meeting with Lamont was given. Committees were selected and went off to

their respective mills. They returned promptly and reported that in each case agreement had been quickly reached.

That evening there was a great outdoor mass meeting, where the strikers as a body formally ratified the settlement and authorized those who were needed to put the machinery back in operation after a sixteen weeks lay-off to return to work the next morning. They sang:

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation....
We have been nought; we shall be all.
And that was that.

To be continued in next issue.

THE POETS WHO HAVE DIED SINCE I WAS YOUNG

Lifeworn each went his solitary way,
The poets who earned their fame when I was young.
Each had his turbulent and enlightened day
Before Death's heavy hand fell on his tongue.

Driven by needs not held in high esteem
By the world they lived in—tense, unsatisfied,
Mad as the mist and snow, each had his dream,
Labored and loved, exhorted, prophesied.

With what sharp eyes, experience more profound
Than other men's, what passion in their veins
They bore the paradoxes that abound
Forever in Abel's heart as well as Cain's!

One spoke of *the darkening hill that men must climb*,
Another of *the streets where great men go*.
One brooded on *the confusion of our time*
With few clear stars. One grieved for youths who know

Only the monstrous anger of the guns,
And afterward know no more. One said *mankind*
Could perish unmourned by birds or trees or suns,
But to die for some high image in the mind

Was glory one declared. *We make our meek*
Adjustments, pondered one who made his own
On a fatal voyage. Each of them unique
In his law, of courage knew that he alone

Must find the creed to save him from his error.
Those who went forth to battle but always fell,
Left words like marching songs for those in terror
Who fight their battles bravely but not well.

We, we, the living, we, the still alive—
Why, what a triumph! desperately one cried
Knowing that like the others she too must strive
To be faithful to her vision until she died.

Helene Mullins

Poets quoted—William Butler Yeats, Edwin Arlington Robinson, James Elroy Flecker, Stephen Vincent Benet, Wilfred Owen, Sara Teasdale, AE, Hart Crane, Demetrios Capetanakis, Shaemas O'Sheel, Edna St. Vincent Millay.

Articles in Volume II of **LIBERATION**

AMRINE, Michael,	From: Guernica to: Suburbia (poem) April '57	LIPTON, Lawrence,	I Was a Poet for the F. B. I. (poem) Nov. '57
_____	The Darshan of Albert Einstein July-Aug. '57	_____	Newscast for a Disconnected Micro- phone (poem) Jan. '58
APPLEMAN, Philip,	Girl in Any Port (poem) Sept. '58	LUSK, William,	Who Is My Neighbor? Nov. '57
ARYANAKAM, Ashadevi,	The Recent Work of Vinoba Bhawe Jan. '58	LYND, Staughton,	Can Men Live as Brothers? Feb. '58
BIGELOW, Albert S.,	Sailing into the Bomb Test Area Feb.	"MacARTHUR, Manfred",	Inflation or Unemployment April '57
BOULDING, Kenneth,	The Sputnik Within Jan. '58	MARTIN, James J.,	American Prophets (1): Josiah Warren Dec. '57
BROWN, Arthur,	By the Dawn's Early Light July-Aug. '57	MARTINSON, John,	Freedom of Unbelief July-Aug. '57
CALHOUN, Don,	Reich's Message to Libertarians Jan. '58	McREYNOLDS, David,	Man Beckons to Man July-Aug. '57
_____	Religion Is the Enemy July-Aug. '57	MOON, Henry Lee	Position of the N. A. A. C. P. Nov. '57
COMBS, Tram,	Dinosaur (poem) Sept. '57	MORRISSETT, Ann,	Atomic Reflections July-Aug. '57
DAY, Dorothy,	After Prison—Part I Sept. '57	MUSTE, A. J.,	The C. P. Convention and Democratic Socialism March '57
_____	After Prison—Part II Oct. '57	_____	Not So Long Ago (Part I) June '57
DELATTRE, Pierre Henri,	Resumption of the Cold War Sept. '57	_____	Part II July-Aug. '57
DELLINGER, Dave,	American Forum: United Front, No; Public Debate, Yes June '57	_____	Part III Oct. '57
_____	They Refused to Hide July-Aug. '57	_____	Part IV Nov. '57
Di PRIMA, Diane,	Memories of Childhood (poem) Dec. '57	_____	Part V Dec. '57
DOTY, C. LeRoy Jr.,	The Army as School and Church May	_____	Part VI Jan. '58
FICHTER, Richard,	Farmer at the Gates Oct. '57	_____	Part VII Feb. '58
FINCH, Roy,	C. P. Convention March '57	NEUMANN, William,	The Panama Canal: March '57
_____	The Return of Nerve: Religion and the New Generation May '57	ODHNER, Madefrey,	Religious Belligerents July-Aug. '57
_____	The Space Age Dec. '57	_____	The Purge (poem) July-Aug. '57
_____	They Refused to Hide July-Aug. '57	_____	The Sun Stands Still (poem) July-Aug. '57
FRIEDMAN, Maurice S.,	Who Created Whom? May '57	PAULING, Linus,	Every Test Kills Feb. '58
GOODMAN, Paul,	Great Pioneer, But No Libertarian (Reich) Jan. '58	PECK, James,	Our Struggle Against Trujillo Dec. '57
_____	October 4, 1957 (poem) Nov. '57	_____	"Trespassing" on the Bomb Site Sept. '57
_____	"You Gotta Be Better Than Somebody" Nov. '57	PICKUS, Robert,	The Nevada Project. Sept. '57
GUPTA, Brijen,	How Reactionary Are the Arab Governments? April '57	REYNOLDS, Reginald,	Jungle Warfare in the Desert Jan. '58
HAMILTON, Wallace,	American Frescoes (7): A Cake of Soap for La Siesta Nov. '57	REYNOLDS, Ruth,	Puerto Rico and the Bomb July-Aug. '57
_____	Everybody Killed George June '57	SCOTT, Lawrence,	Words Are Not Enough May '57
HARICH, Wolfgang,	The Testament of a Party Rebel Sept. '57	SHRIDHARANI, K	Can Democracy Survive in India? April '57
HESELTINE, William,	Coercion in American Life Nov. '57	SIBLEY, Mulford,	A Worker-Farmer-Negro Party? March '57
HINER, James,	The Spider (poem) April '57	SMITH, Lillian,	Words and the Mob Nov. '57
HINES, Betsey,	Before a Wall (poem) July-Aug. '57	STANLEY, John,	The Faculty of Flying July-Aug. '57
JORDAN, Clarence,	Ordeal by Bullets May '57	STEPHENS, Genevieve,	Hospital (poem) Sept. '57
KAMIAT, Arnold,	A Worker-Farmer-Negro Party? March '57	WIECK, David,	The Invention of Responsibility Nov. '57
KEMPTON, Murray,	Edgar Says No April '57	WILLIAMS, William A.,	Go Left or Go Under: American Liberalism at the Crossroads Nov. '57
KING-HALL, Sir Stephen,	Armies Are Now Obsolete July-Aug. '57	WILSON, L. Alex,	A Man of Courage Speaks Nov. '57
LEE, Royal,	Pure Food and Pure Fraud March '57	WYNNE-TYSON, Esme	Peace Through the Recovery of Religion July-Aug. '57
LENS, Sidney,	An Industry Is at Stake April '57	ZAHN, Franklin,	Sticks and Stones and Little Rocks Nov. '57
_____	Revolt of the Captive Mind Oct. '57	ZEUCH, William Edward,	Macedonia and the Shared Life: An Evaluation Sept. '57

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